

PR
2342
A6H64



CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

ENGLISH COLLECTION



THE GIFT OF
JAMES MORGAN HART
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH

A.266 567

12/VIII/12

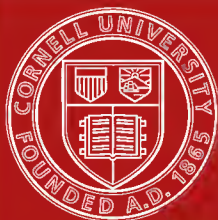
Cornell University Library
PR 2342.A6H64

[Sidney's Arcadia and the Elizabethan dr



3 1924 013 123 413

olin



Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

J.M.H.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA BULLETIN

VOL. II

JANUARY 1, 1908

No. 1

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME I, NUMBER 1
1908

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Entered in the Post-Office at Reno, Nevada, as second-class matter,
under Act of Congress, July 16, 1894

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME I, NUMBER 1
1908

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

A.266567

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

JAMES EDWARD CHURCH, JR.,
ROMANZO ADAMS,
HERBERT WYNFORD HILL,
Committee on Publications

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

CONTENTS

Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Elizabethan Drama

By HERBERT WYNFORD HILL

SIDNEY'S *ARCADIA* AND THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA¹

BY HERBERT WYNFORD HILL

PART I: THE *ARCADIA*

THE PLOT OF THE *ARCADIA*²

The antecedent action relating to the principal characters is well scattered throughout the first two books of the *Arcadia*³ and is introduced in various ways. In the case of the heroes, each tells his own story or the story of the other; in the case of the heroines, Kalander, an Arcadian lord, relates their story to Musidorus, one of the heroes. It runs as follows:

Basilus, king of Arcadia, though blessed with station, honor, and a most charming household, has retired to a forest, where he lives in the utmost seclusion. The reason for this most extraordinary procedure is to be found in an oracle from Delphi which reads:

Thy elder care shall from thy careful face
By princely mean be stol'n, and yet not lost;
Thy younger shall with nature's bliss embrace
An uncouth love, which nature hateth most;

¹ This study is the first of a series of studies concerned with the influence of types of novels on the seventeenth-century drama. The next in the series will be the influence of the heroic romance as represented by la Calprenède. To Dr. Frederic Ives Carpenter, who suggested this line of research, and under whose direction the work has been pursued, I wish to express my sincere thanks.

² In citing pages of the *Arcadia* I refer to the J. Hain Friswell edition, published by Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1898. The text has been carefully collated with that of Dr. Sommer's photographic facsimile edition of the quarto edition of 1590 (London, Kegan Paul, 1891), and such divergences are noted as would appear to affect the conclusions reached.

³ Pp. 18-23, 128-33, 147-64, 190, etc.

Both they themselves unto such two shall wed,
Who at thy bier, as at a bar, shall plead
Why thee, a living man, they had made dead.
In thine own seat a foreign state shall sit;
And ere that all these blows thy head do hit,
Thou, with thy wife, adultery shall commit.¹

Deeply stirred by this oracle, Basilius does not feel secure even in his seclusion and uses every caution to guard carefully his two daughters, who are "beyond measure excellent in all gifts allotted to reasonable creatures." Thus he keeps constant watch over Philoclea, the younger, and entrusts the elder, Pamela, to the care of Dametas, "a loutish clown such that you never saw so ill-favoured a vizer."

The events which led to the arrival of the heroes in Arcadia are as follows: Musidorus, prince of Thessaly, and Pyrocles, prince of Macedon, form early in life a close friendship; as Sidney puts it:

Among which nothing I so much delight to recount as the memorable friendship that grew up betwixt the two princes, such as made them more like than the likeness of all other virtues, and made them more near one to the other than the nearness of their blood could aspire to, which I think grew the faster, and the faster was tied between them, by reason that Musidorus being elder by three or four years, it was neither so great a difference in age as did take away the delight in society, and yet by the difference there was taken away the occasion of childish contentions, till they had both past over the humour of such contentions. For Pyrocles bore reverence full of love to Musidorus, and Musidorus had a delight full of love in Pyrocles.²

These friends, at an early age, set out to join the king of Macedon, who is besieging Byzantium. A storm arises and they are wrecked on the coast of Phrygia. A series

¹ P. 230.

² P. 150.

of adventures follows in which they repeatedly save each other's life, kill giants, and rescue beautiful maidens. Now they set sail for Greece and are again shipwrecked, this time on the Laconian coast. The story of the *Arcadia* now begins.

Book I.—Musidorus, grief-stricken, sees Pyrocles carried away by pirates. Guided to the house of Kalander, an Arcadian lord, by shepherds, he is hospitably received. One evening while they are at supper news is received that Clitophon, the son of Kalander, has been captured by the Helots. Musidorus undertakes his rescue, and discovers in the leader of the Helots his lost friend, Pyrocles, who has attained this eminence through a remarkable series of adventures. United again, the two friends live in supreme happiness at the house of the grateful Kalander. Pyrocles, however, soon begins to manifest the greatest uneasiness and finally disappears. Musidorus sets out in search of him and finally runs across him disguised as an Amazon. Pyrocles explains that he is now Zelmane and very much in love with Philoclea, whom he rapturously describes. By virtue of his disguise, he has been able to establish himself as a friend in the house of Basilius, where he has constant opportunity to behold the object of his adoration. Musidorus soon catches sight of Pamela and falls desperately in love. In order to become a suitor, he disguises himself as a shepherd and skilfully forces himself into the services of Dametas, who, it will be remembered, is Pamela's guardian. At a fortunate moment, a lion and a bear rush from the forest and offer themselves up on the altar of our heroes' fame.

Book II.—Their prowess thus established, Pyrocles and Musidorus now make rapid progress in their suits. Both, however, are seriously handicapped: Pyrocles is

pestered by the attentions of Basilius, who, failing to penetrate the disguise, has fallen in love with him, and jealously watched by Gynicia, who, penetrating the disguise, has become infatuated with him, and who naturally looks upon her daughter as a dangerous rival; Musidorus is held in scorn because of his lowly station. Nevertheless, each pursues his suit with undaunted ardor. Pyrocles by tricking Basilius finally attains conference with Philoclea and confesses his real character. She, who has already dared wish "either herself or Zelmane (Pyrocles) a man that there might succeed a blessed marriage between them,"¹ is overwhelmed with joy at finding her wish so miraculously realized and quickly yields to his eager suit. "Dost thou love me? Keep me then, still worthy to be loved," is her answer.² Musidorus by a clever use of Mopsa as the apparent object of his affections discloses his love and station to Pamela.

Book III.—Pamela, although she has long loved Musidorus in secret, is much slower than her more impulsive sister in disclosing her affections.

But at last, finding not only by his speeches and letters, but by the pitiful oration of his languishing behaviour, and the easily deciphered character of a sorrowful face, that despair began now to threaten him destruction, she grew content both to pity him and let him see she pitied him, as well by making her own beautiful beams to thaw away the former iciness of her behaviour, as by entertaining his discourse, whensoever he did use them, in the third person of Musidorus, to so far a degree that in the end she said that, if she had been the princess whom that disguised prince had virtuously loved, she would have requited his faith with faithful affection; finding in her heart that nothing could so heartily love as virtue, with many more words to the same sense of noble virtue and chaste plainness.³

¹ P. 137.

² P. 189.

³ P. 244.

Cecropia soon disturbs the Arcadian affairs by capturing Pamela, Philoclea, and Zelmane, and imprisoning them in her castle. Basilius raises forces and besieges the castle. Battles and numerous single combats follow, in which Amphialus, Cecropia's son, especially distinguishes himself.¹ The captives are finally freed by the violent death of Cecropia, and return to Basilius.

Our heroes now renew their wiles to capture the maidens. Musidorus hoodwinks Dametas and elopes with Pamela. Pyrocles brings Basilius and Gynicia together at a certain cave at midnight by promising each an assignation. Basilius does not recognize his wife and so in the accomplishing of his pleasure fulfils the last part of the Delphic oracle. Gynicia has brought with her to the cave a potion which she believes will excite love, but which really is a powerful sleeping-potion. Getting thirsty Basilius drinks this and falls to the ground apparently dead. Meanwhile, Pyrocles, freed from the watchful parents, visits Philoclea in her chamber and attempts to persuade her to elope. While discussing the proposition they fall asleep.

Book IV.—Confusion reigns supreme in Arcadia. Gynicia accuses herself of the murder of her husband and is taken into custody. Pyrocles is discovered in Philoclea's chamber and put under arrest. Musidorus and Pamela, who have wasted much valuable time in writing verses on trees, are overtaken and brought back; he is imprisoned.

Book V.—Gynicia, Pyrocles, and Musidorus are brought up for trial before Euarchus, who arrives at this

¹ Here ends the story as it appeared in the quarto of 1590. The remainder was compiled by the countess of Pembroke from loose sheets of Sidney's manuscript. In 1621 Sir William Alexander added a supplement to Book III; and in 1627 R[ichard] B[eling] added a sixth book.

time on a visit to his old friend, Basilius. After carefully weighing the evidence Euarchus condemns Gynicia to be buried alive, Pyrocles to be thrown from a tower, and Musidorus to be beheaded. Although he now discovers the sentenced princes to be his son and his nephew, he heroically refuses to change his sentence. Happily for all concerned, at this critical moment Basilius wakes up.

SOURCES OF THE PLOT

Sidney was a well-read man; not only was he acquainted with the literature of his own tongue then accessible, but he had a ready knowledge of the best Latin and Greek authors, which were very popular in his day, as well as a liberal conversance with many Italian and Spanish authors. Like his contemporaries he had no scruples at all in appropriating whatever would best suit his purpose, and he drew freely from a great abundance and variety of material.

Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*¹ has long been supposed to be the chief source of Sidney's *Arcadia*. Sidney Lee's² sweeping statement, that the title of the whole and most of the pastoral episodes are drawn from Sannazzaro, has generally been accepted. Lee's statement, however, does not stand the test of careful investigation. Sidney undoubtedly owes to Sannazzaro the title, the suggestion of the use of pastoral landscape for a background, and the interspersions of pastoral eclogues; but there is no close resemblance either in incident or form. Brunhuber³ points out that Sidney was acquainted with Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* since he mentioned it in the *Defense of Poesie*; that, besides the title, he took two names from it, Elpino

¹ Published at Milan, 1504; trans. into French in 1544.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. III, p. 231.

³ Sidney's "*Arcadia*" und ihre Nachläufer, p. 10.

and Parthenio; and that there is a strong resemblance between Sidney's description of the statue of Venus and a description in Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*; but concludes that Sidney is not indebted to Sannazzaro for any essential material.

The evidence for believing that Sidney was strongly influenced by Montemayor's *Diana*¹ consists in a strong similarity in the beginning of the two books,² in the translation of the first and second lyrics of the first book of the *Diana*,³ placed at the end of the *Arcadia*, and in the common use of a woman-page episode. The accompanying table⁴ will show this last resemblance as well as a

¹ A Spanish romance written in imitation of Sannazzaro, published 1542, trans. into English in 1598.

² Dr. Frederick Landmann, "The Successors of Euphuism," *New Sh. Soc. Trans.* (1882), p. 260.

³ See Jno. Garrett Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, 1899.

⁴ THE WOMAN-PAGE MOTIVE (see Dunlop, Vol. II, pp. 192, 214, for a good synopsis of the *Ecatommithi* and the *Tales*):

Author	CINTHIO	BANDELLO	MONTEMAYOR	SIDNEY*
Work in which it occurs	<i>Ecatommithi</i> , 8th novel, 5th decade	<i>Tales</i> , Part II, No. 36	<i>Diana</i>	<i>Arcadia</i>
Date of pub.	Circa 1554	1554	1542	1590
Disguise	A woman disguised as a page serves the man whom she loves	The same	The same	The same
Messenger ..	Lacking	She acts as messenger between her master and his sweet-heart	The same	Lacking
Love complications.....	Lacking	The sweet-heart falls in love with the page	The same, and the sweet-heart dies of grief	Lacking

[Table continued on next page]

* *The Story of Zelmane*; cf. Sommer's facsimile edition, pp. 194 ff.

common resemblance to two other similar episodes written about the same time as the *Diana*.

There appears to be no decided resemblance between the two episodes under discussion beyond the mere disguise of a woman as a page in order to be near the man she loves, which was a commonplace of Italian fiction of that time. The most striking feature of the Arcadian episode is the pathos of the conclusion, and this appears to be original with Sidney.¹

The similarity of the Plangus episode to the story of Demenate in the *Aethiopika*² was first pointed out by Oeffering.³ Brunhuber⁴ calls attention to this and also points out the resemblance between Pyrocles' experience among the Helots and the experience of Thyramis as leader of a band of robbers. He also lists a number of conventional motives common to both, as ship-wrecks, oracles, dreams, etc.

Brunhuber shows that the artifice of killing one person in disguise of another for the purpose of deceiving a friend, which is employed twice in the *Arcadia*, is used by Tatius. The pairing of cousins, so notable a feature

(Continuation of footnote 4, page 7)

Author	CINTHIO	BANDELLO	MONTEMAYOR	SIDNEY
Mistaken identity	The page is mistaken for her brother by her master	The page's brother is mistaken for the page by the sweet-heart, who marries him	Lacking	Lacking
Solution		The page marries her master	The page turns shepherdess	The page dies of grief

¹ For a further discussion of this, see Brunhuber.

² See Brunhuber; also Zouch's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 140.

³ Michael Oeffering, *Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur*. Berlin, 1901.

⁴ P. 20.

of the *Arcadia*, occurs in the *Leucippe and Clitophon*. In addition to the title names, Clinias is common to both stories.

The trick used by Chaereas¹ to secure an entrance into Tyre bears some resemblance, thinks Brunhuber, to the trick employed by Musidorus to secure an entrance into the town of the Helots.

Dunlop² points out that—

that part of the *Arcadia* which relates to the disguise of Pyrocles, and the passion of the king and queen, has been immediately taken from the French translation of the 11th Book of *Amadis de Gaula*, where Agesilian of Colchos, while in like disguise, is pursued in a similar manner by the king and queen of Goldop.

Brunhuber has collected six episodes from the *Amadis de Gaula* which resemble, to a greater or less degree, episodes of the *Arcadia*. A parallel analysis will show the extent of Sidney's indebtedness to this source.

<i>Amadis de Gaula</i> ³	<i>Arcadia</i>	
Book I, chap. xiv	P. 90	I
Two knights who are enemies joust; one is unhorsed, the other severely wounded.	Two knights who are friends joust, each in defense of his lady's picture; one is unhorsed, but neither is injured.	Jousting
The mistress of the defeated knight jeers at his defeat.	The mistress of the defeated knight bids him seek some other mistress.	Jilting
The discomfited knight kills his mistress and commits suicide.	The discomfited knight thinks the loss of such a mistress will prove great gain and goes on his way.	Solution

¹The character is from the Greek romance, *Chaereas and Callirrhoe*, by Chariton Aphrodisiensis.

²Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, revised by Henry Wilson (London, 1888), Vol. II, p. 396.

³For an excellent analysis of the plot of the *Amadis de Gaula*, see Warren's *History of the Novel*, p. 137.

The circumstances of the jousting are entirely different; and the solution of one tragic, of the other happy. The only possible resemblance consists in a mistress forsaking a defeated knight, a commonplace of the romance. The resemblance is not very striking.

	<i>Amadis</i>	<i>Arcadia</i>
	Book II, chaps. ii, iii	P. 57
II Misfortune	A knight is dismissed by his mistress who is jealous over a supposed intrigue.	A knight unwittingly wins the love of a friend's mistress, kills the friend in defense, and so causes the death of the father of the friend.
Retirement	Throwing away his armor, he retires to a forest to lead a hermit's life and forbids his squire to follow him on pain of death.	The same.
Combat of another as the result of mistaken identity	A knight discovers the discarded armor, puts it on, and is mistaken for the owner. A fight results.	The same.

All of these incidents occur repeatedly in the Arthurian romances. There is of course no similarity in the misfortunes which befall the two knights. The uniting of the last two incidents in sequence, however, may be accepted as possible proof of influence.

	<i>Amadis</i>	<i>Arcadia</i>
	Book VII, chap. lix	P. 90
III Jousting in defense of mistress' pictures	A knight for some time successfully defends the picture of his mistress against all comers, taking the pictures of their mistresses as forfeits.	(Cf. <i>supra</i> , p. 9.) The same. (The knight bears a shield decorated with stars.)
Defeat by unknown knight	He is finally defeated by an unknown knight (who bears a shield decorated with stars).	

The essential proof of resemblance in these episodes consists in the introduction of two minor features: the use of the picture of the mistress, and the decoration of the shield with stars; the combination of the two strengthens the proof.

<i>Amadis</i>	<i>Arcadia</i>	
Book IX, chap. iii	P. 405	IV
Florisel, disguised as a shepherd, is in love with Silvia, and Orlando in love with Florisel.	Pyrocles (Zelmane) disguised as an Amazon is in love with Philoclea, and her parents, Gynicia and Basilius, are in love with Pyrocles.	Love complication
Orlando goes to Florisel's room disguised in Silvia's clothes.	To rid himself of their attentions, Pyrocles makes an assignation with each at a certain cave, whither Gynicia goes disguised as Zelmane.	Disguise
He mistakes her for Silvia and accomplishes his long-entertained desire.	Basilius mistakes her for Zelmane and accomplishes his long-entertained desire.	Solution

The situations in the two episodes are evidently quite different, that of the *Arcadia* being far more complicated. The resemblance reduced to its barest terms is that of the disguise and the result: in each, a woman disguised in the garments of another woman, or supposed woman, deceives a man and he accomplishes his desire. From the point of view of the two women the results were widely different; from that of Basilius and Florisel they were much the same.

<i>Amadis</i>	<i>Arcadia</i>	
Book XI	P. 193	V
A fickle knight is tied to a tree and punished with thorns by maidens.	The same, except that bodkins are used.	Punishment
He is rescued by a knight.	The same.	Rescue

	<i>Amadis</i> Book XI	<i>Arcadia</i> Book I
VI Falling in love	Agesilian falls in love with a princess by looking at her picture.	The same.
Disguise	He enters the household of the princess disguised as an Amazon.	The same.
Love compli- cation	The parents both fall in love with him.	The same.

From Sannazzaro Sidney obtained the title of the *Arcadia* and the suggestion of the use of a pastoral background; from Montemayor, two lyrics and the suggestion of the introduction of romantic elements into a pastoral setting. The influence of both has been overestimated. From Heliodorus, he secured the Plangus episode and the motive of a prince as the leader of a band of outlaws; from Achilles Tatius, the artifice of executing one person in the disguise of another; and from Charitons, the trick used by Musidorus to secure an entrance into the town of the Helots. The most important source of the romantic episodes of the *Arcadia* is the *Amadis de Gaula* from which are taken at least four.

THE STYLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE *ARCADIA*

The general plan of the *Arcadia* seems to have suffered many changes in the course of the construction of the book. The reason for these changes is to be found in the circumstances under which it was written. It was begun in the summer of 1580 at Wilton, whither Sidney had gone in exile in consequence of a quarrel with the earl of Oxford, continued on his return to court, and not finished until after the trip to Flanders in 1582. As Fox-Bourne¹ remarks:

¹ H. R. Fox-Bourne, *A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney* (London, 1862), p. 345

Indeed the entire work, though no allegory is to be found in it, gives clear evidence of the author's varying mood at the various periods of his writing. The earlier portions, composed at Wilton and in the immediate company of the countess of Pembroke, have all the graceful flow of fancy, the fulness of pastoral imagery, the buoyancy of happy innocent thought, which might be expected to mark the time of Sidney's retirement from Court and participation in the rich joys of true domestic life. The middle part, written as I conclude, after his return to the world of courtly gaiety, is equally in harmony with the scenes and circumstances of its authorship. In it there is more strength of literary power, but the theme is far less inviting. Some episodes are of exquisite beauty; but the substance of the tale, including the endless description of Cecropia's abode and the things done in it is dull and tedious. . . . In the fourth and fifth books of the *Arcadia*, brief and disjointed as we have them, we have the foretaste of many of his thoughts at a later period. His journey to Flanders, in the early spring of 1582, must have interrupted his literary work. After that there was a marked change in his temper. Honest purposes were rising in him which little accorded with many sentiments in the half-written romance. Hastily, and with not much satisfaction to himself, he finished it as briefly as he could; spoiling the perfection of the story, but very beautifully showing how his own nature was being perfected.

The *Arcadia* is not, however, wanting in a certain kind of unity. It is wrapped in an atmosphere of courtesy and tenderness—a reflection of the noble soul of the author. Sidney's personality underwent little change during the progress of the book; and it is the expression of this personality, the type of the high-minded courtier so pleasing to the English mind, that gives the book its chief charm today, as it gave its popularity three centuries ago.

The loose, free-and-easy structure is not without certain advantages, provided the reader have plenty of time.

It is not so easy, however, to forgive the frequent interruption of the story with episodes, and episodes within episodes; and it is still more exasperating to find, scattered piecemeal throughout several hundred pages, an episode that has little or no connection with the main plot.¹ The confusion arising from this is considerably heightened by the frequent disguise and change of names of the principal characters. Eliminate this feature, cut out the side episodes, and there is left a story not wanting in interest or unity. It is the attempt to combine material which as Professor Raleigh² has remarked, "would furnish out twenty novels," that is the peculiar weakness of the *Arcadia*.

7 This weakness is emphasized by the poorly constructed paragraphs and long sentences made up of innumerable clauses which are distinctive features of Sidney's style. The carelessness in this respect, however, is more apparent than real. It must be remembered that the present standards of correctness governing paragraph structure were not at this time developed. Good prose was almost unknown, and verse was used as the medium of expression for finished thought in nearly every field of knowledge. Indeed Sidney himself considered the *Arcadia* as a sort of prose poem, an opinion shared by the literary critics of his time.³

7 To this point of view is due much of the affectation of his style. He took a keen enjoyment in playing upon words, in repeating them singly and in pairs; and he gave this fancy the range of full poetic license. Thus Strephon addresses Urania as "sweetest fairness and

¹ Take, for instance, the Erona episode, which is distributed over pp. 164, 165, 173-78, 182, 183, 209, 222, 233, 242, 448, etc.

² *The English Novel*, p. 60.

³ See below, p. 25.

fairest sweetness,"¹ and Laon urges Strephon to "think with consideration and consider with acknowledging, and acknowledge with admiration and admire with love and love with joy."² Kalander advises the young princes: "Too much thinking doth consume the spirits; and oft it falls out that while one thinks too much of his doing, he leaves to do the effect of his thinking."³ At the close of the stag hunt, the party "found Daephantus was not to be found."⁴ These examples can be multiplied almost indefinitely. In some cases this trick is absolutely indefensible; in others it admirably serves to give a pithiness, as in the case of Kalander's advice to the princes quoted above, or to secure a certain dynamic effect, as in the following description of Parthenia:

Fair indeed, fame I think itself daring not to call fairer if it be not Helen, Queen of Corinth, and the two incomparable sisters of Arcadia; and that which made her fairness much the fairer was that it was but the fair ambassador of a most fair mind.

Another mark of Sidney's style is his use of a great number of epithets and adjectives, especially those expressing emotion. This feature is of course not peculiar to Sidney but is characteristic of his contemporaries as well. The following description of Arcadia will serve to show his usage in this respect as well as to illustrate certain other features:

There were hills which garnished their proud heights with stately trees; humble valleys whose base estate seemed comforted with the refreshing of silver rivers; meadows enamelled with all sorts of eye-pleasing flowers; thickets, which being lined with most pleasant shade, were witnessed so to, by the cheerful disposition of many well-tuned birds; each pasture stored with sheep, feeding with sober security, while the pretty lambs, with

¹ P. 3.² P. 4.³ P. 49.⁴ P. 51.

bleating oratory, craved the dams' comfort: here a shepherd's boy piping as though he should never be old, there a young shepherdess knitting, and withal singing; and it seemed that her voice comforted her hands to work, and her hands kept time to her voice-music.¹

In the passage just quoted is well illustrated Sidney's habitual use of what Ruskin terms the "pathetic fallacy," the attributing of human emotions to inanimate objects. Other examples may be cited from almost any page. Thus *Laon of Urania*: "But when she was embarked did you not mark how the winds whistled, and the seas danced for joy; how the sails did swell with pride, and all because they had *Urania*."² In describing a fair lady the lover is fond of picturing the objects that touch her as capable of experiencing his emotions: "Most blessed paper which shall kiss that hand;"³ "covered their dainty beauties with the glad clothes;"⁴ "the lute delighted to come to such lips;"⁵ and, "the wine seemed to laugh for joy to come to such lips,"⁶ are thoroughly typical.

Of all the features of Sidney's style that which is most characteristic is his boldness of metaphor. In describing a battle, he writes:

But by this time there had been a furious meeting of either side, where, after the terrible salutation of warlike noise, the shaking of hands was with sharp weapons. Some lances according to the metal they met and skill of the guider, did stain themselves in blood; some flew up in pieces, as if they would threaten heaven because they failed on earth; but their office was quickly inherited either by the prince of weapons—the sword—or by some heavy mace, or biting axe, which, hunting still the weakest chase, sought ever to light there where smallest resistance might worse prevent mischief. The clashing of armour, and crushing of staves, the justling of bodies, the resounding of blows, was the first part of that ill-agreeing music,

¹ P. 12.² P. 3.³ P. 143.⁴ P. 145.⁵ P. 112.⁶ P. 250.

which was beautified with the grisliness of wounds, the rising of dust, the hideous falls, and the groans of the dying.¹

Again, in describing the growth of love in Philoclea's breast:

At last she fell in acquaintance with love's harbinger, wishing . . . Then grown bolder she would wish either herself or Zelmane a man, that there might succeed a blessed marriage between them; but when that wish had once displayed his ensign in her mind, then followed whole squadrons of longings that so it might be, with a main battle of mislikings and repinings against their creation that so it was not.

In the continuation of this interesting description, love figures in rapid succession as a disease, a river, and a captor:

But as some diseases when they are easy to be cured they are hard to be known, but when they grow easy to be known they are almost impossible to be cured, so the sweet Philoclea, while she might prevent it she did not feel it, now she felt it when it was past preventing, like a river, no rampiers being built against it till already it have overflowed: for now, indeed, Love pulled off his mask and showed his face unto her, and told her plainly that she was his prisoner.²

Sidney's style is well summed up in the term, poetic prose: the play on words, striking epithets, vivid personifications, and bold imagery are essentially poetical; and these in brief are the features of the Arcadian style.

THE INFLUENCES WHICH MOLDED SIDNEY'S STYLE

It is always a difficult matter to trace the sources of an author's style, to say that he secured this quality from one author and that from another, when as a matter of fact the most valuable influence is that which leaves the smallest trace; in other words, that which results in

¹ P. 271.

² P. 137.

growth rather than imitation. At the time of the writing of the *Arcadia*, however, there existed schools of imitation, generally the result of foreign influence. Such a school was that known as the "euphuistic," introduced largely from Italian or Spanish sources, established by Sir Thomas North, Pettie, and various other writers, and finding its climax and name in Lyly's *Euphues*.¹ That Sidney was very slightly if at all influenced by this movement has been, I think, pretty conclusively established by Dr. Frederick Landmann,² who sums up his discussion on this head as follows:

The elements of style in Sidney's *Arcadia* are different from those of Euphuism. In brief, they consist in endless tedious sentences, one sometimes filling a whole page, in the fondness for details, and in the description of the beauties of rural scenery. Instead of Lyly's *exempla* and shortened similes with "for as-so," we have here minutely worked-out comparisons and conceits couched in excessively metaphorical language, quaint circumlocutions for simple expressions, and bold personifications of inanimate objects. Besides, Sidney is fond of playing upon words, and is not averse to *simple* alliteration.

Sidney, as we have noted above, was acquainted with certain Italian and Spanish authors, more particularly Sannazzaro and Montemayor, and borrowed from them some of the material of the *Arcadia*. It is not impossible then that he may have been influenced to a greater or less extent by their style. Landmann is of this opinion.³

Sidney [he writes] certainly avoided Euphuism, but he brought in another taste and style that led to the same exaggeration as North's translation had led to in *Euphues*. Sidney was

¹ For an excellent bibliography and summary of this discussion, see Clarence G. Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, 1894.

² Cf. Dr. Landmann, *Euphues* (Hielbronn, 1887), p. xxviii; note also Professor A. S. Cook's introduction to *Sidney's Defense of Poesy*, p. xxiii.

³ Dr. Landmann, *New Sh. Soc. Trans.* (1882), p. 261.

the first to introduce into England the shepherd romance, with its flowery language and endless clauses, its tediousness and sentimentality, which characterize the shepherds of Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* from Montemayor's *Diana* up to the *Astrée*. The Italian as well as the Spanish work, which Sidney must have known, shows an affected style in speech. Sidney was probably influenced by the diction of both.

John Garrett Underhill¹ speaking of the influence of the *Diana* says:

Sidney did not appropriate the prose of Montemayor, but he was not uninfluenced by it. There is a striking parallelism between the opening passages of the *Arcadia* and the *Diana*. Furthermore, both novels are mixed pastorals combining elements proper to the eclogue and the romance of chivalry. Montemayor made free use of letters, combats, and enchantments, which had until then not been considered proper to the pastoral. He was followed and far outstripped in the employment of these devices by Sidney. The courtly and thoroughly aristocratic tone of the *Diana* which is particularly obtrusive in the additions of Alonso Pirez and Gil Polo, dominates the *Arcadia*. It is also evident in Sidney's style, but it would be injudicious to attempt to father the affectations of which Sidney is the best known representative upon Montemayor. There is a similarity in the exaggerated manner of both writers, and particularly in the length and in a certain languor of the sentences; but Montemayor is much simpler than Sidney. His affectation is due to the sentimental artificiality of the life of his shepherds; with him the expression is not strained beyond the conception. In this respect the Spanish differs from the English pastoral, which was indebted to its prototype for something of its conduct, but not deeply enough influenced to owe anything to its style.

In a note he adds,

The attempt to connect the style of Sidney with Montemayor has failed. Dr. Landmann, the chief exponent of the affirmative view, who was very positive about the indebtedness of Sidney to the Spaniards, in 1882,² is much less sure of his ground in his

¹ Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, p. 267.

² See above.

later preface to the first part of the *Euphues*. The truth is that the alliterative, euphuistical, and Arcadian styles had started on their course before 1580, when the *Diana* was as yet not widely read in England. Yong, in translating the book, was given to ornamenting and elaborating the style of the original (e. g., cf. *Diana* [London, 1598], pp. 129, 131, 139, etc.). He was, indeed, conforming it to a standard which it had not set, and whose requirements it did not fully meet.

Professor Child takes much the same view:

Nothing notable or individual, it seems to us, can be detected in Sidney's style that can be declared specifically Spanish. It is a straightforward narrative style, so far as structure is concerned. Sidney was not thinking of the form of the sentences as he wrote. Its individual quality proves on analysis to be due to Sidney's use of figurative language; his clauses while direct and simple are lengthened by circumlocution. The attention is attracted not by any peculiarity of form, but by bold personification and vividly picturesque metaphor. Knowing that Sidney's taste was formed in an Italian school, are we to believe that his fondness for these was due simply to Montemayor?¹

To the influence of the classics is largely due Sidney's mastery over words as well as neatly turned phrases. To a faithful study of the Scriptures, and the reading of eastern-tinged romances is due his almost oriental love of splendor. In summing up these influences, Professor Cook² writes:

Sidney's favorite among the Latin prosaists was unquestionably Cicero. To him, as to the men of the literary Renaissance generally, Cicero was the unrivalled model of style. Sidney's ear was charmed by the harmonious cadences of the great rhetorician, while his imagination was fired by Cicero's ostensible fervor of patriotism, his oratorical indignation or zeal, his prodigality of information and allusion, and, perhaps beyond everything else, by the reflected glories of the ancient Roman State.

¹ Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 111.

² Professor A. S. Cook's *Sidney's Defense of Poesy*, p. xvi.

If the style of the master partakes somewhat too much of Asiatic grandiloquence and floridity, and somewhat too little of Attic refinement and moderation, we should not be greatly surprised if we find the pupil occasionally proving his aptness by a clever imitation of the blemishes, as well as the beauties of his original. We must not be unjust to Sidney because the sounding brass of Cicero sometimes gave forth in his hands the tone of the clanging cymbal. It must be remembered that the mind of England had been largely nourished upon the Psalmists and Prophets of the Old Testament, and had thus acquired a certain liking for the splendor of Oriental imagery, as well as the pomp and harmonies of Oriental language. To this must be added the familiarity with the mediaeval romances which came in the train of the Crusades, many of which were fragrant with the breath of the East.

THE POPULARITY OF THE *ARCADIA*

As we have noted,¹ the *Arcadia* was finished before 1583. By this time Sidney, who had begun it as a summer pastime had become tired of it. He had never viewed it as a serious literary venture and was well aware of many of its imperfections. It is then natural to suppose that he did not encourage its circulation; undoubtedly if he could have had his wish in the matter, it would never have become known outside a narrow circle of friends. His friends, however, viewed the book in a different light. It was copied and recopied and copies made of copies; so that long before its publication it had established considerable vogue. These facts are pretty clearly indicated in a note written in 1586 by Edward Molineux, in which he says:

Not long after his return from the journie, and before his further imploiment by hir maiestie, at his vacant and spare time of leisure (for he could at no time indure to idle and void of action) he made his book which he named *Arcadia*, a worke

¹ Cf. above, p. 12.

(though a mere fansie, toie, and fiction) shewing such excellence of spirit, gallant invention, utriety of matter, and orderlie disposition, and couched in frame of such apt words without superfluity, eloquent phrase, and fine conceipt, with interchange of devise, so delightfull to the reader, and pleasant to the hearer, as nothing could be taken out to amend it, or added to it that would not impaire it, as few works of like subject hath beene either of some more earnestlie sought, choislíe kept, nor placed in better place, and amongst better jewels than that was; so that a speciall deere friend he should be that could have a sight, but much more deere that could once obtaine a copie of it. Which his so happie and fortunat beginnings so amplie set out both his sufficiencie for the publike, and what he can doo in exercise privat, that manie mens eies are drawn into exceeding hope and expectation of his speedy further advancement, which to the honor of himselfe and his house I dailie praie for, and most heartilie wish him.¹

In this same year (1586) the question of publication was brought up by Fulke Greville in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham:

This day one (WILLIAM) PONSONBY, a bookbinder in Paul's Churchyard, came to me and told me that there was one in hand to print SIR PHILIP SIDNEY's old *Arcadia*; asking me, "if it were done with your Honour's cons(ent) or any other's of his friends?" I told him, "To my knowledge, No." Then he advised me to give warning of it to the Archbishop [Whitgift] or Doctor Cosen; who have, as he says, a copy of it to peruse to that end.

Sir, I am loth to renew his memory unto you, but yet in this I must presume; for I have sent my Lady, your daughter, at her request, a correction of that old one, done four or five years since [i. e., in 1581 or 1582], which he left in trust with me: whereof there are no more copies [i. e., no other copy than this one]; and (it is) fitter to be printed than the first which is so common [i. e., in manuscript]. Notwithstanding even that to be amended by a direction set down under his own hand, how

¹ *Holinshed's Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 880 (London, 1808).

and why: so as in many respects, especially the care of printing of it, it is to be done with more deliberation.¹

Two years later, on August 23, 1588, the *Arcadia* was entered in the *Register*. Professor Storojenko couples this with Puttenham's mention of the *Arcadia* "as a universally known work," in proof of the statement that the *Arcadia* appeared in the autumn of 1588.² I can discover no evidence, however, that it appeared before 1590, which is the date of the oldest known edition.

The *Arcadia* sprung at once into wide popularity. Not only was it read eagerly but frequently memorized and used in conversation at court. An interesting case of this sort is noted in the *Anecdotes* published by the Camden Society:³

A gentleman complimenting with a lady in pure Sir Philip Sidney, she was so well verst in his author, as tacitely she traced him to the bottom of a leafe, where (his memory failing) he brake off abruptly. "Nay, I beseech you, Sir," sayd she, "proceede and turn over the leafe, for methinke the best part is still behind;" which unexpected discovery silenc't him for ever after.

Shakerly Marmion in *The Antiquary*, 1641,⁴ introduces the following conversation:

Duke.—Are you so preposterous in your opinion, to think that wit and elegancy, in writing, are only confin'd to stagers and book-worms? 'Twere a solecism to imagine, that a young bravery, who lives in the perpetual sphere of humanity, where every waiting-woman speaks perfect *Arcadia*, and the ladies' lips distil with the very quintessence of conceit, should be so barren of apprehension, as not to participate of their virtues.

¹ Arber's *English Garner*, Vol. I, p. 488; cf. also, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1581-1590*, ed. by Robt. Lemon, 1865, p. 389.

² See Huth, library ed. of Greene's *Works*, Vol. 1, p. 103.

³ *Anecdotes and Traditions*, Camden Soc., p. 64; cf. also *Dict. of N. B.*

⁴ See Reed and Gilchrist, *Old Plays*, Vol. X, p. 49, 1826.

Ben Jonson strongly lashes this affectation of his time in his *Discoveries*:

But now nothing is good that is natural, right and natural language seems to have the least of the wit in it; that which is writhed and tortured is accounted the more exquisite.

Extracts from the *Arcadia* figure prominently in the chap books of the time, and occasionally letters were written in the Arcadian style. Such a letter John Udall wrote to the queen in 1598(?).¹

I present unto your Highness the natural wit of your natural subject, and so unhappily may prove a natural, but I have adventured as being happily bred up in the blessed days of so blessed a Queen. Sacred lady, disdain not the water in my hands humbled at your princely feet; the cause is God's, the service yours. Your Majesty's ever memorable servant, the Lord of Essex, hath cast me into these parts in hope to mould me for better purposes than to post with the packet. Vouchsafe once to cast your merciful eyes upon the footstool of your kingdom, since it hath been said that enemy prince that durst not put on his 'cayske' in open hostility by hidden practice hath poisoned a stirrup. Vouchsafe, I may only urge unto your Highness the noble speech of the noble Lord Mountayne [Montaigne] of France, spoken by Anthestanes [Antisthenes] to the Atthenynnees [Athenians]. How chanceth it, saith he, you do not employ your asses in the labor of your land as you do your horses? to whom it was replied, the beast was not born to use. Why then, saith he, how fareth it you employ them in your commonwealth and war? This paradox will suffice at least to make your Majesty laugh if it be no more worth, and so haply may make your Sir Phillip Sidney's Dametas better known unto your Highness in time.—[*Holograph: two seals; device: a dagger.*]

The literary critics of the day nearly all mentioned the *Arcadia* in terms of the most extravagant praise. Some attempted to read into it a philosophy of life, and

¹*Salisbury Manuscript*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol. VIII, p. 562.

at least one attempted to justify the plan of the book.¹ The most noteworthy criticisms are as follows:

Puttenham, in his *Art of English Poesie*, 1589,² speaking of those that "deserve the highest praise," says:

For Eglogue and pastorall Poesie, Sir *Philip Sidney* and Maister *Challenner*, and that other Gentleman who wrote the late shepherdes Callender.

In another place he says:³

And this maner of resemblaunce is not onely performed by likening of lively creatures one to another, but also of any other naturall thing, bearing a proportion of similitude, as to liken yealow to gold, white to silver, red to the rose, soft to silke, hard to the stone and such like. Sir *Philip Sidney* in the description of his mistresse excellently well handled this figure of resemblaunce, by imagerie, as ye may see in his booke of the *Archadia*.

Harington, in "An Apologie of Poetry" prefixed to *Orlando Furioso*, 1591,⁴ wrote:

There follows only two reproofs, which I rather interpret two peculiar praises of this writer (Sidney) above all that wrate before him in this kind: One, that he breaks off narrations verie abruptly, so as indeed a loose unattentive reader, will hardly carrie away any part of the storie: but this doubtlesse is a point of great art, to draw a man with a continuall thirst to reade out the whole worke, and toward the end of the booke, to close up the diverse matters briefly and clenly. If *S. Philip Sidney* had counted this a fault, he would not have done so himselfe in his *Arcadia*.

Harvey, in *Pierce's Supererogations*, 1593,⁵ advises his readers:

Read the Countesse of Pembroke's *Arcadia*, a gallant Legendary, full of pleasureable accidents and profitable discourses; for three things especially, very notable; for amorous Courting,

¹ Harington; see below.

² Arber ed., p. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁴ Haslewood, p. 141.

⁵ Grosart ed., Vol. II, p. 100.

(he was young in years;) for sage counselling, (he was ripe in judgment;) and for valorous fighting (his souveraine profession was Armes;) and delightfull pastime by way of Pastorall exercises, may passe for the fourth. He that will Looove, let him learn to loove of him, that will teach him how to Live; and furnish him with many pithy, and effectual instructions, delectably interlaced by way of proper descriptions of excellent Personages, and common narrations of other notable occurrences; in the veine of Salust, Livy, Cornelius Tacitus, Justine, Eutropius, Philip de Comines, Guicciardine, and the most sententious Historians, that have powdered their stile with the salt of discretion, and seasoned their judgment with the leaven of experience. There want not some suttile Stratagems of importance, and some politique Secretes of privitie: and he that would skillfully, and bravely manage his weapon with a cunning Fury, may finde lively Precepts in the gallant Examples of his valiantest Duelists; especially of Palladius, and Daiphantus; Zelmane, and Amphialus; Phalantus, and Amphialus: but chiefly of Argalus, and Amphialus; Pyrocles, and Anaxius; Musidorus, and Amphialus, whose lusty combats, may seeme Heroicall Monomachies. And that the valour of such redoubted men may appeare the more conspicuous, and admirable, by comparison, and interview of their contraries; smile at the ridiculous encounters of Dametas, and Dorus; of Dametas, and Clinias; and ever when you thinke upon Dametas, remember the Con-futing Champion, more surquidrous than Anaxius, and more absurd than Dametas: and if I should always hereafter call him Dametas, I should fitt him with a name, as naturally proper unto him as his owne. . . .

Live ever sweete Booke; the silver Image of his gentle wit and the golden Pillar of his noble courage; and ever notify unto the worlde, that thy writer, was the Secretary of Eloquence; the breath of the Muses, the hooney-bee of the dayntiest flowers of Witt, and Arte; the Pith of Morall, and intellectual Virtues; the arme of Bellona in the field; the tounge of Suada in the châber; the spirite of Practice *en esse*; and the Paragon of Excellency in Print.¹

¹ Harvey, in his other prose works, frequently praises the *Arcadia*; cf. Grosart ed., Vol. I, pp. 287, 190, etc.

Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*,¹ praises Sidney, thus:

As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by HOMER, HESIOD, EURIPIDES, AESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, PINDARUS, PHOCCYLIDES, and ARISTOPHANES; and the Latine tongue by VERGILL, OVID, HORACE, SILIUS ITALICUS, LUCANUS, LUORETIUS, AUSONIUS, and CLAUDIANUS: so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments by SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, SPENCER, DANIEL, DRAYTON, WARNER, SHAKESPEARE, MARLOW, and CHAPMAN.

As Xenophon, who did imitate so excellently as to give us *effigiem justi imperie*, "the portraiture of a just empire," under the name of CYRUS (as Cicero saith of him) made therein an absolute heroical poem; and as Heliodorus wrote in prose, his sugared invention of that picture of love in THEAGINES and CARICLEA; and yet both excellent admired poets: so SIR PHILIP SIDNEY writ his immortal poem *The Countesse of PEMBROKE'S Arcadia* in prose; and yet our rarest poet.

Bolton, in the *Hypercritica*, written in 1610(?),² remarks:

The *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney is most famous for rich conceit and splendor of courtly Expressions.

Drayton, in *Of Poets and Poesie*, 1627,³ says of Sidney:

(And) thoroughly paced our language as to show
The plenteous English hand in hand might go
With Greek and Latin, and did first reduce
Our tongue from Lilly's writing then in use
Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of Fishes, Flyes
Playing with words and idle similies.

The causes of the remarkable vogue and popularity are not far to seek. The ideal personality of the author, his romantic love affair, and the circumstances of his death at Zutphen, all combined to endear him to the

¹ Published by J. Churton Collins, *Critical Essays and Literary Fragments* (1903), p. 11.

² Cf. Haslewood, *Ancient Essays*.

³ See *Dict. of N. B.*, under "Philip Sidney."

hearts of the Elizabethans; and the book itself embodied much that they were striving for—the attainment of a plane of social culture suited to their rapid advance along other lines. The artificialities it gave rise to simply displaced other artificialities of less real worth, and are important merely as indicating the stronger current of real progress beneath. The influence of the *Arcadia* on Elizabethan society was wholesome and invigorating, and the extent of that influence more far-reaching and lasting than that of any other single work of its time.

PART II. THE INFLUENCE OF THE *ARCADIA* ON THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

In discussing the influence of the *Arcadia* on the Elizabethan drama I shall confine myself strictly to the period before the closing of the theaters in 1642. This seems desirable because by that time new influences had set in that render the problem of tracing the influence of the *Arcadia* exceedingly complicated. Its influence on the pastoral plays will first be examined, and secondly its influence on some other plays of the period.

THE PASTORAL DRAMA

The pastoral drama has been defined and classified in a variety of ways. One critic¹ would have it include four—

¹ W. W. Greg, *Cornhill Magazine*, Vol. LXXX, p. 202. Mr. Greg's list is as follows:

THE MYTHOLOGICAL SCHOOL			
PLAY	AUTHOR	DATE	
<i>The Arraignment of Paris</i>	Peele	1584	
<i>Gallathea</i>	Lyly	1592	
<i>Love's Metamorphoses</i>	Lyly	1601	
<i>Hymen's Triumph</i>	Deniel	1615	
<i>Queen's Arcadia</i>	Deniel	1605	
THE SCHOOL OF THE ITALIAN MASTERS			
<i>The Faithful Shepherdess</i>	Fletcher	1609	
<i>The Sad Shepherd</i>	Jonson	before 1637	
[Continued on next page]			

teen plays classified in three schools: The Mythological School, the School of the Italian Masters, and the Utopian School. Another¹ would have it include twelve plays,² but discusses in connection with these, twelve³ others which he classifies as "mythological," "forest," and "court and pastoral." I shall use the term in a broad

[Continued]

THE UTOPIAN SCHOOL

PLAY	AUTHOR	DATE
<i>The Maid's Metamorphosis</i>	Anonymous	1600
<i>Amyntas</i>	Randolph	1638
<i>The Shepherd's Holiday</i>	Rutter	1639
<i>Argalus and Parthenia</i>	Glaphthorne	1638
<i>Arcadia</i>	Shirley	1632
<i>The Shepherd's Paradise</i>	Montague	1633
<i>The Careless Shepherd</i>	Goffe	1629

¹ Homer Smith, *Pub. of Mod. Lang. Assn.*, 1897.

² Mr. Smith's list is as follows:

<i>The Queen's Arcadia</i>	Daniel	a. 1605
<i>The Faithful Shepherdess</i>	Fletcher	a. 1608
<i>Hymen's Triumph</i>	Daniel	a. 1614
<i>The Careless Shepherdess</i>	Goffe	a. before 1629
<i>Rhodon and Iris</i>	Knevet	a. 1631
<i>The Shepherd's Paradise</i>	Montague	a. 1632
<i>Amyntas</i>	Randolph	w. 1632-34
<i>The Shepherd's Holiday</i>	Rutter	pr. 1635
<i>Love's Riddle</i>	Cowley	w. 1632-36
<i>Astraea</i>	Willan	pr. 1651
<i>The Enchanted Lovers</i>	Lower	pr. 1658
<i>Dione</i>	Gay	w. 1720

³ His list of related plays is as follows:

MYTHOLOGICAL

<i>The Woman in the Moon</i>	Lyly	1597
<i>The Arraignment of Paris</i>	Peele	1584
<i>The Maid's Metamorphosis</i>	Anonymous	1600
<i>Love's Metamorphoses</i>	Lyly	1601
<i>Gallathea</i>	Lyly	1592

FOREST

<i>Sad Shepherd</i>	Jonson	before 1637
<i>As You Like It</i>	Shakespeare	1599

COURT AND PASTORAL

<i>Argalus and Parthenia</i>	Glaphthorne	1638
<i>The Thracian Wonder</i>	Webster	1661
<i>Love's Labyrinth</i>	Forde	1660
<i>Ile of Guls</i>	Day	1606
<i>Arcadia</i>	Shirley	1632

sense covering all of these plays and such others as possess any considerable pastoral element. In the case of Shakespeare it seems best to leave such of his plays as are sometimes termed pastoral to be discussed under the second main division.

The list considered is as follows:

PLAY	AUTHOR	DATE
<i>Arraignment of Paris</i>	Peele	pr. 1584
<i>Gallathea</i> ¹	Lyly	pr. 1592
<i>The Woman in the Moon</i> ²	Lyly	pr. 1597
<i>Mucedorus</i>	Anonymous	pr. 1598
<i>Maid's Metamorphosis</i>	Anonymous	pr. 1600
<i>Love's Metamorphoses</i> ³	Lyly	pr. 1601
<i>The Queen's Arcadia</i>	Daniel	a. 1605
<i>The Ile of Guls</i>	Day	a. 1605
<i>The Faithful Shepherdess</i>	Fletcher	a. 1608
<i>Hymen's Triumph</i>	Daniel	a. 1614
<i>Love Tricks, or School of Comp.</i>	Shirley	pr. 1625
<i>The Careless Shepherdess</i>	Goffe	w. before 1629
<i>Love's Riddle</i>	Cowley	w. 1632-36
<i>The Arcadia</i>	Shirley	a. 1632
<i>Amyntas</i>	Randolph	w. 1632-34
<i>Argalus and Parthenia</i>	Glapthorne	pr. 1639
<i>The Shepherd's Holiday</i>	Rutter	pr. 1635-39
<i>The Parliament of Bees</i>	Day	pr. 1641
<i>The Sad Shepherd</i>	Jonson	pr. 1640

MUCEDORUS⁴

Mucedorus, a prince, goes disguised as a shepherd to the court of Arragon to win the heart and hand of the king's daughter, Amadine. As he nears the court, he

¹ Mr. Greg would assign as early a date as 1584; cf. *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906. Unfortunately Mr. Greg's book did not appear until after I had completed my investigation. His treatment is accurate and comprehensive.

² Mr. Fleay suggests as early a date as 1589-90.

³ Mr. Fleay thinks this may have been written as early as 1588-89.

⁴ Cf. Dodsley, *Old English Plays* (ed. by Hazlitt), Vol. VII.

encounters the princess fleeing from a bear. He promptly kills the bear and presents the head to the grateful princess. Segasto, her cowardly escort, conceives a dislike for the shepherd, and, when the latter appears at court, plots his death at the hands of a servant. Mucedorus kills the servant, and is punished with exile. Amadine has fallen in love with Mucedorus and offers to elope with him. On her way to the meeting-place she is captured by Bremono, a wild man, and dragged away into the forest. Mucedorus, while wandering about the forest, dressed as a hermit, discovers them and kills Bremono. Mucedorus and Amadine now plan to live in a cave until the hue and cry is over. Segasto discovers them, however, and they go back to the court, where the king on learning Mucedorus' real station is glad to welcome him as a son-in-law.

There is a great deal of fun scattered throughout the play in the person of Mouse, the clown, to whose antics was due, undoubtedly, the success of the play.

To the *Arcadia*, *Mucedorus* is indebted for the name of the hero and in a general way for the sketch of the plot. The incidents common to both are as follows:

1. A prince disguised as a shepherd seeks the hand of a princess.
2. He first establishes himself in her graces by rescuing her from the clutches of a bear.
3. They elope to a forest, but are discovered by a searching party.
4. They return to her father's court, and the king on learning the hero's station gives his blessing to the match.

Of the characters in the play, Mucedorus resembles Sidney's Musidorus, and Amadine has much in common with Philoclea. Philoclea, by the way, is loved by Pyrocles, not Musidorus, in the romance. There are no

other resemblances that are very striking. Mouse, who is really the star character, in *Mucedorus*, has no correspondent in the *Arcadia*.

The atmosphere is comic throughout, as the irrepressible Mouse is always popping up whenever there is any tendency toward the serious. The style is juvenile and very crude in places; and bears little resemblance to the style of the *Arcadia*. There are a few cases of inverse balance, as:

Today I live revenged on my foe
Tomorrow I die, my foe revenged on me;¹

frequent simple alliteration, as:

With restless rage I wander through these woods,²

and occasional examples of the pathetic fallacy:

The crystal waters in the bubbling brooks,
When I come by, doth swiftly slide away,
And claps themselves in closets under banks,³

but I can discover no proof that the author had either studied the *Arcadia* very closely or copied any of its phrases or tricks of style.

THE ILE OF GULS⁴

Basilus, duke of Arcadia, in order to secure fitting husbands for his two daughters Hippolita and Violetta, jealously guards them in a secluded spot of Arcadia, and sends forth a challenge offering to bestow them on any one of "princely stem who shall by his wit and active pollicie wooe, win, entice or any way defeate me of my charge."

Two rogues, Aminter, and Julio, plot with Basilus' trusted servant, Dametas, to kidnap the daughters during

¹ P. 220.

² P. 221.

³ P. 221.

⁴ Bullen ed., Chiswick Press, 1881.

the progress of a hunt. The princesses are rescued from this villainy by Demetrius and Lisander, two princes, who have come as suitors, disguised as a woodsman and an Amazon. This act establishes the two heroes in the good graces of Basilius' household.

Both Basilius and Gynitia, the latter penetrating his disguise, fall in love with Lisander; and the noble Amazon uses their folly to urge his suit with the fair Violetta. Having won the daughter's heart, he rids himself of the parents by promising each an assignation at Adonis' chapel and so escapes with his prize. Meanwhile, Demetrius, by feigning extravagant love for the ugly Mopsa, has carried the day with Hippolita, and by duping the clownish guardians succeeds in bearing her off in triumph. The two heroes arrange to ship Hippolita and Violetta to Lacedemon, and return to announce their victory to the gulled circle who one by one have come to Adonis' chapel. The escape of the princesses, however, is frustrated by Julio and Aminter, and the maidens shortly arrive at the chapel, to the great consternation of Lisander and Demetrius. In spite of this failure of their plans Basilius declares his daughters fairly won by the heroes.

The argument of *The Ile of Guls* is, says Day,¹ "a little spring or Rivolet drawne frō the full streame of the right worthy Gentleman, *Sir Philip Sidney's* well knowne Archadea." It is very evident that Day did not follow his model very closely. In three main particulars does his story differ from the *Arcadia*: the elimination of the oracle, the substitution of the villainy of Aminter and Julio for that of Cecropia, and the omission of the trial scene.

In some of the minor details Day closely follows Sid-

¹ Prologue.

ney, and at times uses his exact phrasing; a few quotations will serve to indicate this:

Ile of Guls, p. 33

Dametas, were thine eares
ever at a more musicall ban-
quet? How the houndes
mouthes, like bells, are tuned
one under another?

P. 90

Dametas finds instead of
treasure the following verses:

Who hath his hire hath well his la-
hours plast;
Eartha thou didst seeke and store of
earthe thou hast, etc.

P. 51

. . . . to heare how the youth
of the village will commend
me: oh the pretty little pinck-
ing eyes of *Mopsa*, saies one;
oh the fine flat lips of *Mopsa*,
saies another; and then doe I
bridle my head like a malt-
horse, thus; set my armes
akembo thus, writhe my necke
and my bodie thus, winke with
one eye thus, and spread my
peacocks tayle as broad as the
proudest minx of em all.

Arcadia, p. 50

. . . . their cry being composed
of so well-sorted mouths that
any man would perceive there-
in some kind of proportion.

P. 414

Same situation.

Who hath his hire hath well his labour
plac'd;
Earth thou didst seek, and store of
earth thou hast.

P. 179

I could not go through the
street of our village but I
might hear the young men
talk: "Oh the pretty little eyes
of Miso! "Oh the fine thin lips
of Miso!" "Oh the goodly fat
hands of Miso!" besides how
well a certain wrying I had of
my necke became me. Then
one would wink with one eye,
and the other cast daisies at
me. I must confess, seeing so
many amorous, it made me set
up my peacock's taile with the
highest.

THE CHARACTERS OF THE TWO COMPARED

Ile of Guls

Cast of Characters

BASILIUS, duke of Arcadia.
GYNETIA, his wife.

Arcadia

Corresponding Characters

BASILIUS, king of Arcadia.
GYNETIA (Gynicia).

enced by him in this respect is conclusively proved by the frequent occurrence of phrases like the following: ". . . lo now is the web of my hopes upon the loombs of perfection;"¹ "clip off the taile of the discourse with the sissars of attention,"² etc. He also experimented in word repetition, generally with the following empty results: "Excellent beauty and therefore more excellent because situate in so fair a creature."³ Neither in this nor in his imagery does he approach the beauty or boldness of Sidney's usage.

The essential difference between the two is one of atmosphere. Day uses no pastoral background and savors the whole with the wit of the court or the more vulgar wit of the tavern; this stands in marked contrast to the tender courtesy and refinement of the *Arcadia*.

THE *ARCADIA*⁴

Shirley's *Arcadia* is a dramatization of the principal incidents of Sidney's *Arcadia*. With the exception of the omission of the Cecropia episodes, Shirley followed the romance very faithfully even down to the minor details, and did not hesitate to use Sidney's exact phrasing wherever it suited his purpose. The oracle⁵ he borrowed word for word; and in the scene where Mucedorus dupes Dametas' family he slavishly followed his model, as the following passages prove:

SHIRLEY

P. 195

Mopsa is thine, and she were
made of as pure gold as this.

SIDNEY

P. 392

. . . assuring him he should
have Mopsa though she had
been all made of cloth of gold.

¹ P. 32.

² P. 60.

³ P. 51.

⁴ Gifford ed., Vol. VI.

⁵ *Arcadia*, p. 230.

SHIRLEY

P. 200

Mus. Upon some falling out
I told you Jupiter threw Apollo
out of heaven, and, his deity
taken away, he was fain to live
upon the earth and keep Admetus' cattle. In the time of his service, being sent to fetch a breed of beasts out of Arcadia, in this very desert, he grew faint and weary and would needs rest himself in the boughs of an ashen tree.

Mops. The tree we wot of;
on sweet bird.

Mus. Apollo in that tree,
calling to mind his quarrel
with Jupiter, because very
sorrowful, and pitifully complaining to his father, asking him mercy for having offended him, was from that tree received into his golden sphere, and made a god again.

Mop. Oh brave!

Mus. Having the perfect
nature of a god
Never to be ungrateful he then
granted
A double life to Admetus;
and because
That tree was chapel of his
happy prayers,
To it he gave this quality—

SIDNEY

P. 399

Jupiter, fallen out with Apollo
had thrown him out of heaven
taking from him the privilege
of a god; so that poor Apollo
was fain to lead a very miserable life having in time learned to be Admetus' herdsman he had upon occasion of fetching a certain breed of beasts out of Arcadia, come to that very desert, where, wearied with travel and resting himself in the boughs of a pleasant ash-tree

He had with pitiful complaint's
gotten his father Jupiter's
pardon,
and so from that tree was received again to his golden sphere.

And having that right nature
of a god
never to be ungrateful, to
Admetus he had granted a
double life;
and because
that tree was the chapel of his
prosperous prayers, he had
given it this quality,

SHIRLEY

Mop. Now it comes.

Mus. That whatsoever sat
down in that tree
In like estate and sort as he
did then—

Mop. Oh, now, now, now!

Mus. Should forthwith have
there their wish.

Mop. Oh the tree, the tree,
the tree!

Mus. The king understood
thus much by oracle, and
tried, himself; but being
neither herdman as then
Apollo was, nor of the race
which is necessary, delivered
this secret to your father, but
made him swear to wish by his
direction. For his own benefit
Dametas told it me, and is now
gone to furnish himself with a
scarlet cloak, for in that he
must be muffled, just as Apollo
was. I might now prevent
'em all and be king myself;
but what have I to wish more
than the love of Mopsa?

which, since without more
charming force you yield me,
I'll fit you with a cloak, and then
wish what you will yourself.

SIDNEY

that whatsoever of such estate
and in such manner as he
then was sat down in that
tree,

they should obtain whatsoever
they wished.

This Basilius having under-
stood by the oracle, was the
only cause which had made
him try whether, framing him-
self to the state of herdsman,
. . . . because indeed, he was
not such, he had now opened
the secret to Dametas, making
him swear he should wish ac-
cording to his direction, . . .
my master Dametas is gone I
know not whither to provide
himself with a scarlet cloak,
. . . . Apollo was at that time
muffled with a scarlet
cloak they that wish must
be muffled in like sort
I rest only extremely per-
plexed, because having nothing
in the world I wish for but
the enjoying you and your
favour,
I think it a much pleasanter
conquest to come to it by your
own consent than to have it by
such charming force as this is.
Now therefore choose, since
have you I will, etc. . . .

The verses Dametas finds in place of treasure are copied from Sidney¹ and the whole scene at this point closely follows his.

The trial scene again reminds us constantly of Sidney's description, but it is more difficult to find examples of exact parallel phrasing. The following is a good example of the resemblance here as well as at numerous points elsewhere.

SHIRLEY

P. 244

In things promoted with such
cunning mixture,
'Tis hard to shape a square
and direct answer.

The prince and I drawn by the
fame
Of the fair beauties in Basilius'
daughters, etc.

SIDNEY

P. 464

He has mingled truths with
falsehoods, surmises with cer-
tainties, etc.

Then he told his judge how he
and Palladius, inflamed with
love for the peerless daughters
of Basilius, etc.

In a few cases the resemblance is much stronger, as in the following examples.

P. 248

Thus then must I pronounce:
Diaphantus shall be thrown
from some high tower, to meet
his death;
Palladius lose his head before
sunset;
The executioners shall be Dame-
tas;
Which office of the common
hangman he shall for his
whole life execute, a punish-
ment
For his neglect of duty.

P. 467

I do
pronounce that Daiphantus
shall be thrown out of a high
tower to receive his death by
his fall.
Palladius shall be beheaded:
the time, before the sun set:
. . . . the executioner, Dame-
tas; which office he shall exe-
cute all the days of his life,
for his beastly forgetting the
careful duty he owed to his
charge

¹ *Arcadia*, p. 414:

Who hath his hire hath well his labor plac'd.
Earth thou didst seek and store of earth thou hast.

SHIRLEY

P. 249

Witness with me, ye immortal powers, this day I have done nothing, but what justice and your native laws require,

But I have judged already, and if right I have not wronged, unless the name of child have power to alter sacred justice,

SIDNEY

P. 471

I take witness of the immortal gods, that what this day I have said hath been out of my assured persuasion what justice itself and your just laws require

If rightly I have judged, then rightly I have judged mine own children—unless the name of child should have force to change the never-changing justice.

Shirley's characters are faithfully copied from the *Arcadia* without change of name or of any other particular. His interpretation of the characters is good: they are never vulgar, always courteous and refined. They lack, however, the animation and force of Sidney's creations. The only character introduced who is not mentioned in the *Arcadia* is Thumb, a miller, who plays a minor part.

In spite of numerous parallel passages that might be gathered, Shirley's style is not Arcadian. In the main his verse is singularly free from tricks or ornaments. Yet he was unquestionably influenced by Sidney's style. The following passage, distinctively Arcadian, is, I believe, an imitation:

It is the wind, that would
 Steal through the boughs to give you more refreshing,
 Whom the trees envy; I do hear it mumur
 To be kept from your lips, which it would kiss,
 And mixing with your breath catch odors thence,
 Enough to sweeten all the wood.¹

¹ P. 222.

In handling the rustic style of *Mopsa* he imitates Sidney, sometimes using his exact phrasing as we have already noted. In many places the rustic style is poorly sustained, as is the case with Sidney.

The atmosphere is pure, but lacks the grace and sweetness of the romance. The pastoral background is very little in evidence although the setting is supposedly the same as in the romance, and although Shirley has gone to the length of introducing pastoral songs.

*ARGALUS AND PARTHENIA*¹

The main plot of *Argalus and Parthenia* is based on a side episode given by Sidney in the *Arcadia*² and scattered in a characteristic way throughout the romance. Sifted out from the main story, it runs as follows:

When the fair Gynicia came into Arcadia as the bride of Basilius, there came with her Argalus, a young lord, cousin-german to herself, "a gentleman indeed most rarely accomplished, excellently learned, but without all vain glory, friendly without facetiousness: valiant, so as, for my part, I think the earth hath no man that hath done more heroical acts than he." Here he soon met the fair Parthenia, "pearl of all the maids of Mantinea," and love quickly sprang up between them.

Parthenia's mother, however, favored another suitor, Demagoras, a nobleman of great wealth and prowess. Before meeting Argalus, Parthenia had yielded to her mother's wishes, "not because she liked her choice, but because her obedient mind had not yet taken upon it to make a choice;" but having once learned to love Argalus she "assured her mother that she would first be bedded in her grave than wedded to Demagoras," and to this view she

¹ John Pearson ed., London, 1874.

² Cf. *Arcadia*, pp. 25-31, 40-44, 47, 295-306, 317-22.

resolutely held in spite of all her mother's efforts. Demagoras, enraged by his disappointment, smeared Parthenia's face with a poison that had the effect of making her more ugly than she was formerly beautiful.

Argalus, on first meeting her after this outrage, was naturally enough horrified at her appearance. His love for her, however, remained steadfast; and he urged her to marry him in spite of her changed appearance. She unselfishly refused, and, on his growing insistent, fled the country, he knew not whither.

With his mind centered on revenge, Argalus then followed Demagoras into the chief town of the Helots whither he had fled for safety, and there he killed him and was himself captured. He was soon rescued by Musidorus and returned to the home of Kalander.

Here shortly arrived Parthenia, who had become cured of her disfigurement, and proclaimed herself not Parthenia, but a near kinswoman of Helen, queen of Corinth. Parthenia, she announced, had died and on her deathbed had asked her to marry Argalus, which request she now wished to carry out. Argalus refused the offer, whereupon she revealed herself saying, "Why then, Argalus, take thy Parthenia." They were married at once and settled down to a life of ideal domestic bliss.

Their happiness was soon interrupted by the arrival of a message from Basilius asking him to go as champion against Amphialus. In the contest, Argalus met his death. Parthenia distracted by grief disguised herself as a knight, challenged Amphialus, and met her death at the same hand that had bereft her of her husband.

Glaphthorne's account follows Sidney's in all essential points. The chief points of difference are the addition of a comic subplot and the shortening of the time of the

action. No part of the subplot except the names of the characters is taken from the *Arcadia*. The idea of a comic subplot was of course well developed at this time, and Glapthorne was simply following a well-established principle. The shortening of the time of the action he effected by cutting out the incident of the Helots and hastening the time of the challenge. In the *Arcadia*, several weeks elapse between the marriage and the challenge; in Glapthorne's account the challenge is broached before the marriage, and the combat must have occurred on the day after the marriage.

Glapthorne did not borrow Sidney's phrasing to any considerable extent. We frequently encounter passages, however, that show that he studied the *Arcadia* very carefully. Especially is this true at the critical points of the story, as at the meeting of Argalus and Parthenia after her cure, their parting before the combat, the two combats, and the two death scenes. A few quotations will serve to illustrate this.

The Meeting

GLAPTHORNE

P. 42

I am resolved
As she enjoyed my first, my
latest love
Shall on her memory waite.

P. 43

Argalus, take your Parthenia.

SIDNEY

P. 43

Parthenia's it is, though dead:
there I began, there I end all
manner of affection.

P. 44

Why, then, Argalus, said she,
take thy Parthenia.

The Challenge

P. 51

Arg. Famous Amphialus

Amph. More famous Argalus

P. 298

Right Famous Amphialus,

Much more Famous Argalus,

GLAPTHORNE

SIDNEY

These attributes of curtesie
doe speake
Your noble natures freenesse.

I whom never threatenings
could make afraid am now
terrified by your noble cour-
tesy.

Death of Argalus

P. 54

P. 302

Parth. Eternal darkness
seaze me:
O my Lord,
You are reported to be thrall
to love;
For her sake you affect most,
doe not make a breach in ebb-
ing nature;

Arg. O Parthenia! Never
till now unwelcome have I
liv'd
To such an abject lownesse,
that my life
Must (like a malefactor's) be
by prayers
Redeem'd from death.

O day of darkness

My lord said she,
it is said you love; in the power
of that love I beseech you to
leave off this combat,
even for her sake, I crave it.

Ah Parthenia, said he, never
till now unwelcome unto me,
do you come to get my life by
request?

Death of Parthenia

P. 63

P. 319

Let me desire you to employ
your force
On some lesse fortunate War-
rier.

employ your valor against
them that wish your hurt.

P. 64

P. 320

you've done an office for me,
that blots out all my conceit
of hatred.

I have of them—and I do not
only pardon you, but thank
you for it—the service which
I desired.

In place of the famous epitaph with which Sidney closes the story, Glapthorne uses an elegy which bears no resemblance to anything in the *Arcadia*. He uses the last line of the Sidney epitaph in another place, however:¹

Farewell my Lord, hereafter wish to meet
As I doe, in one tombe, one winding sheet.

In the main plot the characters are the same as Sidney's. In the subplot we have the characters common to the pastoral drama, the inconstant shepherd, a poetical shepherdess, nymphs, etc.

The style of *Argalus and Parthenia* is ornate and rhetorical, and bears little resemblance to Sidney's; as has been said: -

We find poetry instead of pathos, and elaborate speeches instead of passion. Almost everything is good, well-said, eloquent, poetical: but in such a profusion of rhetorical flourishes, poetical images, and dazzling metaphors, it is not possible that everything should be in its proper place.²

Frequently we find an excess of "rhetorical flourishes" where speed of action would be far more desirable, and at times this develops into mere bombast; as:

Surely a mist
Shades our amazed opticks.³

Or,

Let her name
Guesse at his appellation that has ventur'd
This irreligious blemish to white truth.⁴

Glapthorne's imagery is often fantastic; as:

Could he spit thunder would affright the gods,
Or wore at each lock of his hair a flash
Of piercing lightning, . . .⁵

¹ P. 31.

² *Retrosp. Rev.* (1824), Vol. X, p. 122.

³ P. 28.

⁴ P. 29.

⁵ P. 49.

Sometimes, however, he approaches the beauty of Sidney's imagery, and indeed strongly reminds us of him in the following passage:

Faire as Parthenia did she stain the East
When the bright morne hangs day upon her cheeks
In chaines of liquid pearle.¹

On the remaining pastoral drama, Sidney's influence is less marked. In the pastorals of Lyly, Jonson, Daborne, and Goffe I can discover no trace of any influence; and with the others the traces are very slight, consisting of a chance borrowing of a name or phrase. Even in the plays of Daniel, who from his intimate relations with the Sidney family must have had a thorough acquaintance with the *Arcadia*, there is little trace of such acquaintance. Throughout his pastorals the influence of the Italian School of Tasso and Guarini is dominant. We are occasionally reminded, however, of Sidney's style in passages like the following:

Ah I remember well (and how can I
But ever more remember well) when first
Our flame began, when scarce we knew what was
The flame we felt, when as we sate and sighed
And looked upon each other and conceived
Not what we ayled; yet something we did ayle
And yet were well, and yet we were not well.²

Not only does the style here resemble Sidney's, especially in the trick of word repetition, but the analysis of affection is of a Sidneian tone.

The following conceits are thoroughly Arcadian:

 thou gentle bank
That thus art blest to beare so deare a weight,
Be soft unto those dainty lymmes of his.³

¹ P. 28. ² *Hymen's Triumph*, Spenser Soc. ed., p. 388. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

OTHER ELIZABETHAN PLAYS

The two manuscript plays drawn from the *Arcadia* I have not seen. For a description of these the reader is referred to Mr. Greg's presentation.¹ The remaining discussion is intended to outline the main stream of influence of the *Arcadia* on other plays than the pastoral up to the closing of the theaters. The order of presentation is in a measure chronological. In the case of Shakespeare it has seemed best to reserve the discussion to the close.

Although it is pretty generally conceded that Greene was encouraged in the writing of the *Menaphon* by Sidney's *Arcadia*² and used it as a model, and although traces of Sidney's influence are not lacking in the *Pandosto*, I have found it impossible to discover any marked indications of the influence of Sidney's pastoral on Greene's dramatic productions. It is interesting to note in these dramas, however, a steady growth away from Euphuism, a growth which I am thoroughly convinced was due in a large part to the influence of the *Arcadia*.³

That Jonson was familiar with the *Arcadia* is evidenced by his discussion of it with Drummond of Hawthornden. That this familiarity was minute is proved by a statement Jonson made to Drummond, that "Sir John Davies used a phrase like Dametas in the *Arcadia*, who

¹ *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 326. The two plays referred to are *Love's Changelings' Change*, written, thinks Mr. Greg, "in a hand of the first half of the seventeenth century;" and *The Arcadian Lovers, or the Metamorphosis of Princes*, written probably in the early part of the eighteenth century. It appears that neither of these plays is important except as showing the continued popularity of Sidney's romance.

² Cf. Grosart, *Introduction to Greene's Life and Works*; Dunlop, *History of Fiction*; Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, etc.

³ It would be unfair to the reader not to admit that the growth away from Euphuism was common to all the Euphuistic school. In the case of Greene many of Sidney's tricks of style were substituted for the less defensible ones of Lyly, which strengthens my theory.

said, 'For wit his mistress might be a giant.'"¹ The passage referred to was the following:

Methinks that gull did use his terms as fit
Which termed his love a giant for her wit.

Jonson refers to the *Arcadia* in at least three of his dramas. In *Every Man Out of His Humour* is ironically summed up his idea of Sidney's style.

Oh it flows from her like nectar, and she doth give it that sweet quick grace and exornation in the composure, that by this good air, as I am an honest man, would I never stir, sir, but—she does observe as pure a phrase, and use as choice figures in her ordinary conferences, as any be in the *Arcadia*.²

And in the elaborate expressions used by Fastidious Brisk to clothe the most commonplace thoughts, Jonson may well have had Sidney's *Arcadia* in mind.³ In *The New Inn* he again refers to Sidney's style:

Who hath read Plato Heliodore, or Tatius, *Sidney*,
D'Urfe, or all Love's fathers like him.
He's there the master of the sentences,
Their school, their commentary, text and glass
And breathes the true divinity of love.⁴

In *Bartholomew Fair* the *Arcadia* is again mentioned, but in no vital connection, where Quarlous says:

Well then my word is out of the *Arcadia* then: Argalus.⁵

Jonson certainly profited in a general way from his study of the *Arcadia*; but he borrowed from it little if any material.

¹ Cf. Drummond's *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations*, p. 15, ed. by Shakespeare Society, Vol. XIII.

² Gifford ed., Vol. I, p. 88.

³ Cf. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*.

⁴ Gifford ed., Vol. II, p. 387.

⁵ Act IV, scene 2.

CUPID'S REVENGE¹

Source of plot.—The main plot of *Cupid's Revenge* is founded on two episodes of Sidney's *Arcadia*, that of Erona and of Plangus; episodes which are distributed in instalments throughout the *Arcadia*.² The Erona episode as told in the *Arcadia* runs as follows:³

The princess Erona, daughter of the king of Lydia, caused to be destroyed the images and pictures of Cupid, in which the country abounded. In revenge for this sacrilege, Cupid filled her with love for the son of her nurse. Now her father wished her to marry Tiridates, king of Armenia, and did everything in his power to turn her affection from the base-born Antiphilus. He first told her that Antiphilus had fled the country and, this not availing, went to the length of executing another man under the name of Antiphilus; but all in vain. She remained obstinate in her love, desiring only death when she thought Antiphilus killed. Her father, heart-broken at her folly, shortly passed away, and she succeeded him to the throne. Her first act was to advance her marriage with Antiphilus.

Tiridates, the rejected suitor, angered at his treatment, waged war on her and would have conquered her had not Pyrocles and Musidorus come to her aid. After the war, in which Tiridates was killed, Erona and Antiphilus settled down to a life made very miserable by the much puffed-up Antiphilus.

Artaxia, sister of Tiridates, kept her brother's fate constantly in mind, and soon renewed hostilities, with the result that she captured both Erona and Antiphilus. The

¹ Dyce ed., Vol. I, p. 344.

² *Andromana*, a play by J. S., published 1660, is based on the same material taken from the *Arcadia*. As it was not written before 1642 it falls outside the limits of our discussion. Cf. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 330 ff.

³ Pp. 164, 165, 173, 178, 182, 183, 209, 222, 233-42, 448-75.

latter she put to death and Erona was turned over to a nobleman "by oath" that if by the day two years from Tiridates' death, Pyrocles and Musidorus did not in person combat and overcome two knights whom she appointed to maintain her quarrel against Erona and them, of having by treason destroyed her brother, then Erona should that same day be burnt to ashes.

The Plangus episode is given by Sidney as follows:¹

Plangus, the only son of the king of Iberia, in his early years, had an intrigue "with a private man's wife." His father, noting his frequent absence, followed him to the trysting-place and demanded an explanation. Plangus proclaimed the woman's virtue so vigorously that the king conceived a fancy for her and so, to clear the field for his own suit, sent his son on a military expedition. The woman's husband dying after this, the king married her, and she bore him a son and a daughter.

On Plangus' return, the queen attempted to renew her intrigue with him, and when he scorned her advances changed her love to violent hatred. She now set about his downfall. First she extravagantly praised Plangus to the king, and then she had a servant darkly hint that the prince was plotting for the throne. Having thus prepared the way, she now tricked the principal men of the kingdom into proposing to the king that he rule jointly with his son. She then sent messengers to Plangus telling him that the queen was plotting his ruin and advising him to leave the country. On his desiring proof of this, they offered to conduct him to a place where he could hear the scheme for himself. Thither Plangus went, armed because of the lateness of the hour. To stir up the king to the highest pitch of fear and jealousy, the queen informed

¹ Pp. 132, 133, 132, 133, 197, 198; cf. also Sommer's ed. (London, 1891), pp. 166-72.

him with apparent hesitancy that the prince had tried to involve her in a plot to put him out of the way and marry her. At this crucial moment a servant rushed in crying that there was a fellow in the next room come to murder the king. The king summoned his guard and, bursting into the room, discovered Plangus armed with a sword. Without giving him any time for explanation, the king hurried him off to jail and sentenced him to die the next morning. From this doom, however, his friends rescued him and would have set him on the throne had he wished it. He cared not for this honor, but preferred to go to the court of Tiridates where he assisted in the war against Erona. After Erona's capture by Artaxia, Plangus went over to Erona's side and occupied himself in effecting her rescue.¹

In *Cupid's Revenge* we find these two episodes woven together. The first two acts are taken up with the story of Erona, or Hidaspes as she is called in the drama. The account follows Sidney's version up to the point of the king's discovery of his daughter's foolish love. At this point in the romance the king dies. In the drama, however, he has a second rôle to play; so he lives on while the unworthy lover is executed, and the princess dies of a broken heart. Thus the stage is cleared for the principal action, the story of Leucippus. This follows very closely the story of Plangus down to the point of his rescue from execution at the hands of his father. From this point on, the story differs from Sidney's, although it seems that here as well Beaumont and Fletcher are indebted to the romance. The following parallel arrangement will present the facts and the reader may judge for himself:

¹ Both episodes were left unfinished by Sidney.

Cupid's Revenge

Act V, sc. 4

Urania, daughter of the queen, usurps Leucippus' right to the throne.

She loves him above all and follows him to the forest where she serves him as page.

A messenger of the queen kills Urania by mistake while attempting to kill Leucippus.

The queen arrives and seeing Urania dead stabs Leucippus and herself.

Arcadia

Pp. 206-14

Palladius, son of the queen, usurps Plangus' right to the throne.

Cf. woman-page episode above, p. 8.

Forces sent out by the queen to capture Pyrocles kill Palladius.

The queen arrives and seeing Palladius dead stabs herself.

The transference of the Zelmane episode to Urania seems all the more likely as it occurs in close connection with the Plangus episode. As for the other incidents, the resemblance is close enough to give proof positive of influence, especially when we consider that Beaumont and Fletcher borrowed the rest of the story complete.

We may then conclude that, from Sidney's story of Erona, Beaumont and Fletcher took the motive of *Cupid's Revenge* summed up in the title; that part of the story which is concerned with the destruction of Cupid's monuments; and the heroine's falling in love with a fellow far beneath her in station and intelligence. From the Plangus story they borrowed the main plot and details for the rest of the drama. And from the Zelmane episode, and the deaths of Palladius and Andromana, they borrowed the materials for the tragic conclusion.

The main characters of *Cupid's Revenge* are taken from the *Arcadia*. Leucippus corresponds to Plangus; Hidaspes, to Erona; and the queen, Bacha, to Andromana. Leontius, king of Lydia, or duke as he is some-

times called, is two characters rolled into one—king of Lydia and king of Iberia. The character of Zoilus corresponds to Antiphilus in every respect, except that to the former is given a repulsive body, in addition to his other infirmities. Although Beaumont and Fletcher have changed the names of the characters, even in this respect they are indebted to other parts of the romance. Indeed, of the fifteen names making up the cast of characters of *Cupid's Revenge* there are only four not to be found in the *Arcadia*.

There is very little trace of any influence of style. Occasionally, however, a chance phrase of Sidney's creeps in, and in a few places we note a trick used by him as in the speech of Telamon, "Sir, it becomes you or you it the rarest," which reminds us of such phrases as "the garlands dressed the hair or the hair the garlands." Still, on the whole, neither in style or atmosphere does the drama owe anything to the *Arcadia*.

Beaumont and Fletcher undoubtedly borrowed various hints for minor incidents in other plays. In *The Maid's Tragedy*, Dyce suggests that the incident of "Aspasia fighting with Amintor has a sort of prototype in the combat between Parthenia and Amphialus." The incidents are as follows:

The Maid's Tragedy

Act V, sc. iv

A woman who has been wronged by her lover seeks death at his hands.

Disguised as her brother she forces him to fight by insulting him and is killed.

Arcadia

A woman whose husband has been killed in combat seeks death at the hands of her husband's slayer.

Disguised as a knight she forces him to fight by insulting him and is killed.

The situations in these two incidents bear little resemblance to each other, but the combats are much the same. One might well have been suggested by the other.

The use of the woman-page motive in *Philaster* is commonly supposed to have been suggested either by Sidney or by Montemayor.¹ A careful analysis of the incident seems to indicate, however, a closer resemblance to the Bandello episode. It is as follows:

Disguise.—A woman disguised as page serves the man whom she loves.

Messenger.—She acts as messenger between her master and his beloved. She is given to the beloved and continues to act as messenger.

Love complications.—She is suspected of turning lover on her own account.

Mistaken identity.—Lacking.

Solution.—She is wounded by the man whom she loves, confesses her identity, and marries him.

Comparing this with the Bandello episode² we find that the essential differences are the change of masters, and the omission of the incident of mistaken identity. In this episode as well as in the numerous other episodes with a woman-page motive it is very difficult to determine an exact source. It is safe to say, however, that in a considerable measure Sidney was responsible for its introduction into the Elizabethan drama.

Sidney's influence on Shakespeare has been pretty thoroughly estimated. Mr. J. Hain Friswell in the introductory essay to his edition of the *Arcadia* says:

Shakespeare borrows Leontes, Antigones, Cleomenes, Archidamus, and Mopsa, and the episode of the bear from *Arcadia*;

¹ Cf. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. II, p. 177.

² Cf. above, p. 8.

and, although the *Winter's Tale* is said to be taken from Robert Greene's *Pandosto*, and *As You Like It* from some other source, there are traces of the *Arcadia* in the Bohemia and in the sweet and enchanted forest of Arden.

Mr. Friswell's statement is vague and indefinite. Concerning the *Winter's Tale*, there is no longer any question that it has as a source the *Pandosto*, and nearly all the characters correspond much more closely to those of this work than to any in the *Arcadia*; at the most the names listed above were borrowed simply as names, except in the case of Mopsa, who bears a slight resemblance to Sidney's creation. Curiously enough this is the only one of the five names to be found in the *Pandosto*. It may be said, however, in support of Mr. Friswell's statement, that the *Pandosto* itself owed much to the *Arcadia* and in this way "traces of the *Arcadia*" may have found their way into the Bohemia of the *Winter's Tale*.

In much the same manner was *As You Like It* influenced by the *Arcadia*. "Lodges' *Rosalynde*, which is generally accepted as the source of this drama, owes to the *Arcadia*," says Landmann, "the whole apparatus of the Shepherd's romance." And it may very well have transferred to the drama some traces of the *Arcadia*. Certain it is that in various places we are strongly reminded of Sidney's pastoral, in none perhaps more than in the character of Audrey, who, as has been pointed out, bears a strong resemblance to Sidney's Mopsa.

In *King Lear* the evidence for the influence of the *Arcadia* is much more conclusive. Capell first pointed out that the subplot of the earl of Gloucester and his two sons is based on Sidney's account of the blind Paphlagonian king, a conclusion now generally shared by Shakespearean critics. Sidney's account runs as follows:¹

¹ Pp. 159-64.

The king of Paphlagonia had two sons, one illegitimate. This latter, to advance his own selfish ends, filled the king's mind with evil reports of his brother to such an extent that the king sought to kill him. The servants appointed to this task, however, allowed him to escape. The remaining brother now usurped his father's power, put out his eyes, and threw him out into the streets. The other brother, hearing of this outrage, returned to his father's assistance and found him in "unspeakable grief," wishing for death. The father requested his son to lead him to the top of a rock that he might cast himself from it, which the son resolutely refused to do. At this point Pyrocles and Musidorus came to their assistance and succeeded in overthrowing the usurper. The father died from mingled grief and joy. The legitimate heir freely pardoned his brother.

Shakespeare follows this plot, changing it only to make it fit in with the main plot. He does not, however, employ any of Sidney's phrasing. The following parallel accounts of the death of the father excellently show Shakespeare's indebtedness to Sidney in this respect:

*King Lear*¹

but his flaw'd heart,—
Alack, too weak the conflict to
support!
"Twixt two extremes of pas-
sion, joy and grief,
Burst smilingly.

*Arcadia*²

(He) even in a moment died,
as it should seeme: his heart
broken with unkindness and
affliction stretched so far be-
yond his limits with this excess
of comfort as it was able no
longer to keep safe his rival
spirits.

Various other points of resemblance between Shakespeare's drama and the *Arcadia* have been pointed out.

¹ Variorum ed., Act V, scene 3, ll. 196 f.

² Sommer's ed., p. 146.

Mr. Morley suggests that the incident of Valentine among the outlaws is borrowed from the experience of Pyrocles among the Helots; Mr. Steevens, that the name Pericles is taken from Pyrocles; and he also notes an interesting parallelism in *Twelfth Night*, which is as follows:

<i>Twelfth Night</i> ¹	<i>Arcadia</i>
O it came ore my eare, like the sweet sound That breathes upon a banke of Violets; Stealing, and giving Odour.	her breath is more sweete than a gentle south-west wind which comes creeping over flowerie fields and shadowed waters in the extreme heat of sumer.

And many other parallelisms have been noted by various critics.²

Concerning the Valentine incident it may be said that there is a resemblance, but no conclusive evidence of indebtedness. Mr. Steevens' theory regarding the derivation of the name, *Pericles*, has been exploded by Mr. A. H. Smythe, who says:

The commentators upon the play have usually been satisfied with the conjecture of Steevens that the name, *Pericles*, was taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, where Pyrocles figures as one of the characters. It is one of the curious coincidences in the history of this saga, even if it be of no further importance, that in the French prose version Apollonius calls himself Perillie, in answer to the query of the daughter of Archistrates.³

The parallelism quoted above is one of the many which have been pointed out in *Twelfth Night*. The existence of these parallels slightly strengthens the theory

¹ Cf. Furness Variorum ed., Act. I, scene 1.

² In addition to the plays already mentioned, passages have been found in *Macbeth*, *King John*, *The Tempest*, and *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

³ Cf. *Pericles and Apollonius*, edited by A. H. Smythe, p. 69.

that the incident of Sir Andrew Ague-Cheek's challenge¹ was suggested by a similar challenge of Dametas in the *Arcadia*.²

Concerning the remaining parallels that have been pointed out in this and other plays of Shakespeare, it seems that they prove very little beyond what has been already established: that Shakespeare was familiar with the *Arcadia*. That he profited by this acquaintance cannot be doubted; but that he was not influenced to any considerable extent by the style of the *Arcadia* appears equally conclusive.

The plays discussed represent the more important influences exercised by the *Arcadia* on the drama before the closing of the theaters. True, various other plays contain chance Arcadian phrases,³ and some of these plays show resemblances of style⁴ or of the more intangible

¹ Act III, scene 4.

² *Arcadia*, p. 306.

³ Massinger borrowed at least one phrase from the *Arcadia*: "And thus with chaste discourse as we returned feathers to the broken wings of Time." This occurs in the *Great Duke of Florence* and corresponds to Sidney's statement: "They sate devising how to give more feathers to the wings of Time."

Mr. Friswell thinks also that Massinger's famous phrase applying to a mob, "many headed monster," was suggested by Sidney. Neither of these is very vital, and I can find no further proof that Massinger was indebted to Sidney. Cf. footnotes in *Arcadia*, pp. 226, 247.

⁴ The scene in Peele's *David and Bethsabe*, where David watches Bethsabe bathing, bears a marked resemblance to a similar scene in the *Arcadia*, where Zelmane watches Philoclea. The resemblance may be due to the fact that the situations are practically the same. I, of course, make no claim of indebtedness of Peele for the situation, but merely for manner of treatment. For instance, in the following passages there is much the same kind of pathetic fallacy employed:

David and Bethsabe

Then deck thee with thy loose delight-
some robes
And on thy wings bring delicate per-
fumes
To play the wanton with us through
the leaves.

Arcadia

P. 167

and when cold Ledon had once fully
embraced them, himself was no more
cold to these ladies, but as if his cold
complexion had been heated with love,
so seemed he to play about every part
he could touch.

something called atmosphere;¹ while each in turn passed on its little store of Sidneian influence. That the influence of the *Arcadia* was considerable is, I believe, conclusively established. Of the pastoral dramas few escaped its influence completely, while four are indebted to it not only for their plots but for their characters as well, and show evident marks of Sidney's style. Of the remaining plays, one is indebted for its complete plot and characters; a second, for a subplot with the accompanying characters; and various others, for motives, characters, or phrasing.

The more general lines of influence seem clearly defined. Of necessity emphasis has been laid on tricks of style and the resemblance of otherwise unimportant details because these seemed to afford the most conclusive evidence in the establishing of relationship. Further investigation on the part of the reader will, I think, convince him that the more general influence of the *Arcadia* on the Elizabethan drama was to encourage love of nature, lofty conceptions of duty, and refined courtesy.

¹ Note also the atmosphere of Rutter's *Shepherd's Holiday*. The following parallelism is interesting:

Shepherd's Holiday

P. 370 (Dodsley)

Whatever Thyrses pip'd, pleased Sylvia;
Thyrses admired whatever Sylvia sung,
And both their joys were equal or but one.

Arcadia

P. 362

His being was in her alone;
And he not being, she was none.
They joy'd one joy,
One grief they grieved,
One love they loved,
One life they lived.

